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ABSTRACT

The question of multicultural schools, like many other aspects of education, cannot be considered only in educational terms. Before beginning to consider what a multicultural school may be like, two crucial points must be understood: first, a decision in favor of multicultural schooling is a political decision, not an educational one; and second, multicultural schools can only exist in a multicultural society. When reviewing the literature on multiculturalism and particularly on multicultural education, it is clear that practically no consensus is to be found over the meaning of the terms. Using definitions of multicultural society, it becomes apparent that New Zealand is not a multicultural society, and is unlikely to ever become one. New Zealand falls into the category of a multi-ethnic society, where Maori and Pakeha share the economic institutions (based on European models) but keep separate the non-economic aspects. A Maori identity has survived (though not unchanged) 200 years of contact with Europeans, and with an increasing political awareness the minority is beginning to have an impact on some of the attitudes of the majority so that the shared institutions (particularly education) are modifying to incorporate and reflect aspects of the Maori culture. (AH)

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MULTICULTURALISM AND MULTICULTURAL SCHOOLS

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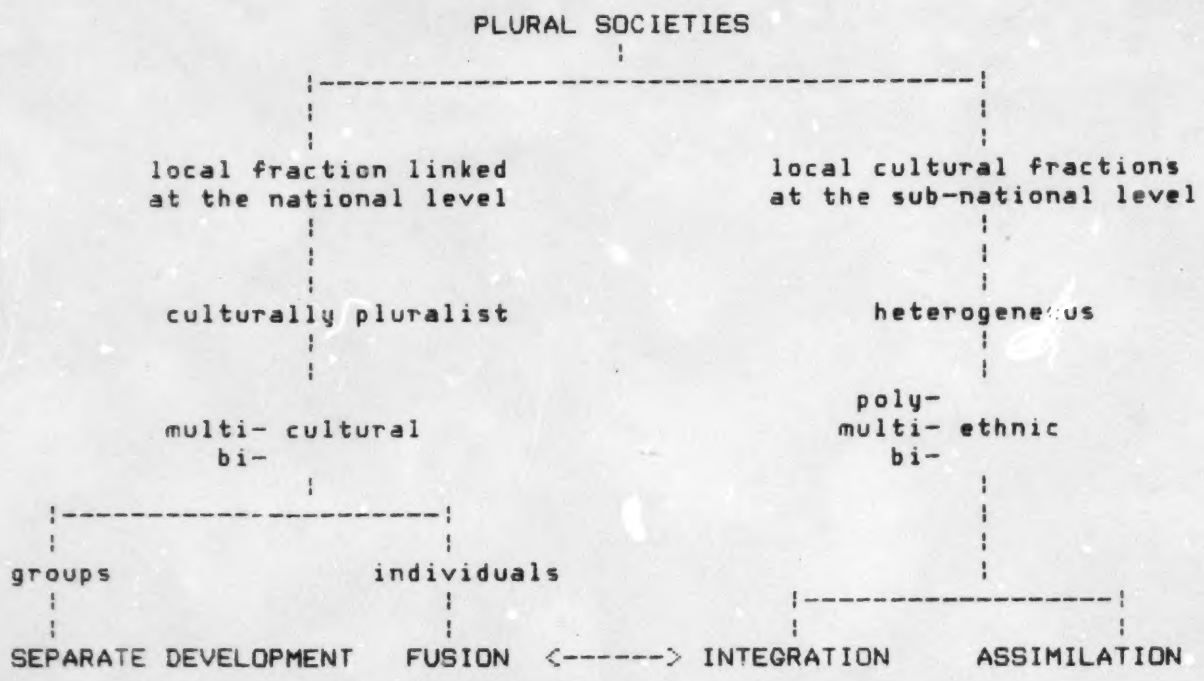
The question of multicultural schools, like many other aspects of education, cannot be considered only in educational terms. Before even beginning to consider what a multicultural school may be like, two crucial points must be understood: first, a decision in favour of multicultural schooling is a political decision, not an educational one; and second, multicultural schools can only exist in a multicultural society. This indicates a logical starting point for this paper, namely "What is a multicultural society?"



(After Despres 1968; Bullivant 1979, 1980; Walker 1980; Metge 1967, 1979)

A multicultural society is one which exhibits a particular kind of pluralism. We need to distinguish between societies in which a number of different cultural fractions (or groups) exist at the local level, and those in which the cultural fractions are linked at the national level, and have an equal (or at least commensurate) part to play in the total national society. Only the latter can be regarded as culturally pluralist and hence multicultural. In the former case where there may be any number of ethnic minorities whose culture has no significance or impact at the national level, the term multi-ethnic is more accurate to describe the heterogeneous nature of such societies. Metge (1979) and Smolicz (1980: 12-13) point to two quite different interpretations of cultural pluralism. First is the separatist view, of a society consisting of discrete groups with little interaction between them - the pluralism is in the society not in the individuals who make up the society. The Republic of South Africa would be an example of such a society. Secondly there is the view which sees pluralism as becoming characteristic of the individuals as well as of the society in which they live. Smolicz suggests: "Where one group predominates, members of minority groups acquire the dominant culture to a level appropriate to their personal needs and aptitudes" (1980: 12-13), while at the same time are "...encouraged to maintain and develop their native languages and cultures alongside the dominant one." (ibid).

The latter view of course means that minority group members may well become bi-cultural, but leaves the majority entirely unaffected and without any necessity to accomodate to any other cultural system. Hence, where the majority group retains control of the political, social and economic institutions of the society, a contradiction arises

between the two major concerns involved in discussions of pluralism (however interpreted). These concerns are for equality on the one hand, and for the preservation and maintainance of ethnic identity and distinctive culture on the other (White 1980:41).

When reviewing the literature on multiculturalism and particularly on multicultural education it is clear that practically no consensus is to be found over the meaning of the terms MULTICULTURAL or MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION. The diagram on page one of this paper attempts to make some distinctions and to relate the conceptual distinctions to policy alternatives. It needs to be made clear that a multicultural society is one in which not only are there different cultural groups, but also such groups retain their own institutional structures for the ordering of their lives, and these structures are fully recognized alternatives at the national level. It is clear from this that a society in which a number of ethnic groups share a single political, economic and legal structure (usually that of the predominant group), is not a multicultural one. At best it can be termed multi-ethnic, for unless alternative (and equally valued) political, economic and legal institutions are available, then multiculturalism cannot be said to exist.

Is New Zealand a multicultural society?

It follows from the criteria noted above, that New Zealand is not a multicultural society, and perhaps more importantly, is unlikely to ever become one. Spoonley's survey of the literature (1979:85) found

plenty of rhetoric about multiculturalism but concluded that there was a widespread unwillingness in the community and also on the part of politicians to accept that the ethnic pluralism that exists in New Zealand need be reflected in the organization of any of our national institutions. Walker (1980:239-40) accepts a multi- (or at least bi-)ethnic model of New Zealand in which Maori and Pakeha share the economic institutions (based on European models) but keep separate the non-economic aspects. A Maori identity has survived (though not unchanged) 200 years of contact with Europeans, and with an increasing political awareness the minority are beginning to have an impact on some of the attitudes of the majority so that the shared institutions (particularly education) are modifying to incorporate and reflect aspects of Maori culture. Walker's view then is of New Zealand as a multi-ethnic society in process of becoming bi-cultural, and that once achieved, bi-culturalism becomes a launch pad into multiculturalism. However, the shared institutions in his model which are modified to incorporate aspects of Maori culture, make it an example of fusion (Dale 1936; Commonwealth Education Portfolio, n.d.:19), rather than of multi-(or bi-)culturalism as defined above. It is a question of the power (political, economic) that the minority group can wield, as well as the goodwill of the majority group that ensures the participation of the minority culture in the institutional arrangements of our society.

Biculturalism and the schools

Walker also suggests in his paper (1980) that the process of biculturalism (as he defines it) has proceeded further in the schools

than in the other public institutions of our society. While not wishing to dispute his assessment of the situation it is necessary to pick up the point made at the beginning of this paper: bicultural schools can only reflect a bicultural society - they cannot be bicultural unilaterally. The danger is that schools may go too far and get out of step with the economic and social realities of the wider society. In such a situation multiculturalism can become self defeating and inequitable the more enthusiastically it is adopted. Bullivant (1980) draws our attention to three particular themes which commonly arise in the context of multicultural education - indeed they can have something of the bandwagon about them. He argues that these themes are: (a) fallacious; and (b) iniquitous, when the wider society is mono-cultural in most other respects. The three themes or beliefs, together with the problems that they raise are:

1. Learning about other cultures increases respect for others and reduces prejudice and discrimination. There is little research evidence to support such a view and it ignores the fact that prejudice is a product of historical, political and economic circumstances and no unilateral action taken by the schools can alter that.

2. Increasing an ethnic child's self esteem through teaching an "ethnic" course or two will enhance the child's capacity to perform well in school generally. Again there is no firm evidence to support this position.

3. An ethnic culture-based curriculum will give an ethnic child greater equality of educational opportunity and by implication enhance employment prospects. Bullivant claims this as the cruellest of multiculturalism's false promises. Such multicultural programmes in school tend to focus only on the expressive side of culture, while equality of opportunity in countries such as Australia and New Zealand has much more to do with social status and political and economic power which are under the control of the dominant cultural group.

Hence a rapid adoption of multi- (or bi-)culturalism in schools without parallel developments in other sectors of the society could exacerbate the situation it was designed to alleviate. What of the relationship then, between society's views on cultural difference and school policies toward cultural minorities? We need to arrive first at some understanding of the development of attitudes to cultural difference within New Zealand.

The evolution of multiculturalism in New Zealand

Richard Thompson (1963:53-56) points to a dominant theme running through New Zealand's history from the earliest days of European settlement. This is the belief that Maori and Pakeha are 'one people' destined to live together in friendship and equality, and which he labels the 'Ideology of Equality' (ibid). He also points to a contradictory ideology, that of 'Cultural Homogeneity' in which the 'one people' share a single culture. Pakeha New Zealanders, Thompson

claims, have an essentially ethnocentric approach to race relations, and the future "...is felt to hinge on whether the Maoris become pakehas rapidly enough" (ibid). Hence the Ideology of Equality needs to be modified toward the idea that Maori are good enough to become 'like us', unlike other coloured races in other parts of the world. The Ideology of Equality in the New Zealand context then, is strongly assimilative in its implication and it is this aspect that I wish to trace through historically.

The first statement of an assimilationist policy for New Zealand is to be found in the Preamble to the Native Trust Ordinance of 1844:

> Whereas the Native people of New Zealand are by natural endowment apt for the acquirement of the arts and habits of civilized life, and are capable of great moral and social advancement: and whereas large numbers of the said people are already desirous of being instructed in the English language and in English arts and usages: And whereas great disasters have fallen upon uncivilized nations on being brought into contact with Colonists from the nations of Europe, and in undertaking the colonization of New Zealand Her Majesty's Government have recognized the duty of endeavouring by all practicable means to avert the like disasters from the Native people of these Islands, which object may best be attained by assimilating as speedily as possible the habits and usages of the Native to those of the European population.

This policy was adopted by succeeding governors (Ball 1940:272) and was never seriously challenged until well into the twentieth century. During these early years the government policy was to protect the natives and their interests from the depredations of settlers, particularly in terms of land (Sinclair 1959:76-77).

> The settlers came to New Zealand to improve their position in life, to raise their standard of living; and the way to do it was to make money. In their calculations the Maoris were rarely taken into account....speculation in land proved the

> quickest road to wealth in the early years....the acquisition of land was the aim of most new arrivals. (Sinclair 1961:4)

A series of ineffectual Governors were unable to withstand the increasing pressure for land from the settlers, which left little but good intentions remaining of the "protection" policy. However, with the arrival of George Grey as Governor in 1845, government took on some purpose, and "...he laboured to establish... measures calculated to improve the condition of the Maori people and to 'elevate' them in the scale of civilization." (Sinclair 1959:84). By the early 1850's Grey at least was confident that the two races were well on the way to 'amalgamation'. However, Sinclair (ibid) regards his measures as superficial and confined to the immediate vicinity of European settlements.

Despite Grey's confidence, there appear to have been two major factors which he disregarded and which were to have profound and long-lasting consequences. First, the generality of immigrants regarded the Maori with strong antagonism, and "...such a feeling formed a permanent background to colonization in New Zealand." (Sinclair 1961:9-10). The so called 'amalgamation' of the races which was made much of at the time "...involved little recognition of any inherent value in Maori culture, and, despite idealistic trappings, it meant no more than the Europeanization of the Maoris" (ibid:80). The second factor was the reserving to the Governor of the control of Maori affairs in the 1852 constitution. Sinclair argues that it was a mistake on two counts: first, Grey's successors were not as competent as he and did not have his <u>mana</u> amongst Maori people; and secondly, in Sinclair's words "Had

the settlers' elected representatives been constitutionally responsible for Maori policy - and for the cost of any rebellion which might occur - they would have been forced to devote more serious attention to Maori affairs." (1959:119).

The solution to the "Maori problem" according to the majority of the new settlers was the administration of "larger and more frequent doses of what was causing it - European influence" (ibid:115). Sinclair has suggested that what was needed was to reduce this influence in order that Maori could come to terms with the new culture in their own way and at their own pace, through some degree of segregation. Indeed, he points out that the 1852 Constitution Act "made provision for the declaration of native districts within which the Maoris could live in accordance with their own laws and customs" (ibid:116). For a variety of reasons however (including the fear of 'locking up' rich lands) the provision was ignored.* It was the process of 'unlocking' land which made the majority of settlers enthusiastic for the wars of the 1860's and which exacted the punitive confiscations which followed.

The role education was to play in the post Land War period has been explored elsewhere (Harker 1980), suffice to say that it was to continue unswervingly with the assimilation process. The predominating attitude to Maori culture at that time is to be found in the comments

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* Interestingly enough, such a policy is being pursued at present by a number of Australian Aboriginal groups through the so called 'out station' movement, which has gained considerable momentum during the 1970's.

of an Inspector of Schools reporting to the Minister of Native Affairs, who speaks of the "demoralizing influence of their kaingas" (Russell 1871:4). This particular phrase attained fairly wide usage, appearing in official statements as late as 1925 (N.Z. Government: 208).

The attitudes of the settlers toward the Maori are reflected in the fiction of the time. Pearson (1958) in his extensive analysis of New Zealand fiction found that attitudes were either hostile or patronizing (p.213), ranging from the racial (rights of conquest) to paternalistic (our Maoris). Talk of 'blacks' and 'niggers' was common, and Pakeha generally regarded Maori as dirty, degraded, lazy and immoral. Conversely, Maori held stereotypes of Pakeha as greedy, arrogant, rude and selfish. The issue of steroetypes at the turn of the century is further explored by Will (1973). He found in the newspapers he surveyed a mixture of favourable and unfavourable attitudes.

> "The view that the Maori lacked self-restraint, or that he was lazy, impulsive and irresponsible, were manifestly unfavourable attitudes. But the notion that he was able to 'better' himself that in effect he could modify his character and change his habits - was a favourable attitude... Yet the belief that the Maori 'needed' to elevate himself above his own culture was in essence a totally unsympathetic idea since it presupposed the Maori lifestyle and the Maori himself were in some way inferior to the European." (p.56)

Hence expressions of support for Maori were really opinions about his capacity to become less of a Maori. "Europeans expressed approval when Maoris aimed at social reform and individual betterment... or when they appeared to be adopting pakeha manners and customs in a successful fashion" (ibid). The nativistic movements (Kingitanga, and those led by Te Whiti and Rua) were condemned in the newspapers precisely because

they were seen as thwarting the processes of assimilation. Will (p.60) contends that "the assimilation policy was really governed by an inability on the part of the pakeha to [ALLOW] differences to exist between the two ethnic groups". He relates this to two possible factors:

1. The Europeans were conscious of the fact that they were building a new society and everyone had to be in on it - i.e. it was new for them as well as the Maori;

2. Maori culture may have been seen as a threat to the Europeans and their 'work ethic' - a seductive temptation to the hard pressed poineer.

Whatever the reasons, it is clear that as the 20th century dawned the assimilationist theme had strengthened, and the European hegemony can be seen to be complete when assimilation is advocated by leading Maori. In the annual report of the Health Department for 1906 both Pomare and Buck were such advocates. "There is no alternative but to become a Pakeha ... no hope for the Maori but in ultimate absorption by the Pakeha " (Pomare 1906:67). Buck (1906:74) advocated the removal of the Maori communal system and its replacement by individualized title to land "to enable him to take his stand on terms of equality with the whiteman as a fellow citizen". This is a precise expression of the 'catch' in the New Zealand version of the Ideology of Equality - assimilation. Maori opinion however, was not unanimous on these points. Ngata for example disagreed with both of them (Williams 1965:60) and he was to become much more influential in later

governments.

In reviewing New Zealand's policy of 'amalgamation' in the 19th century, Ward (1973:308) concluded that:

> "the colonization of New Zealand, notwithstanding the Treaty of Waitangi and humanitarian idealism, was substantially an imperial subjugation of a native people, for the benefit of the conquering race in which the notions of white supremacy and racial prejudice, familiar in other examples of nineteenth century European imperialism were very much in evidence. 'Amalgamation' had operated to bring the Maori people under as much as possible the same political and judicial system as the settlers, with nominal equality before the law, but with very little assistance to attain a genuine equality in economic and social life.... This tendency increased rather than diminished during the century and by the 1890's it seemed as though....the Maori people, manifestly 'unequal in the field' with settlers who possessed the skills and values appropriate to competitive commercial enterprise, were being 'destroyed under a show of justice'."

And so it continued with few expressions of concern for the future of Maori people in New Zealand except within the framework of the by now dominant pakeha culture (see for example N.Z. Govt. 1925:820). One of the earliest protests in the literature against the ubiquitous assimilationist policy is to be found in Dale (1936), who suggested that the Maori could only develop when in a position to control the forces which shaped his life. He firmly rejected assimilation as an outdated policy and advocated in its place what he called 'fusion'. It was impractical to have two parallel cultures since one would be inevitably swamped by the other in an unbalanced situation as in New Zealand. Further, a failure on the part of the Maori to adapt aspects of the European culture "would relegate them to the status of museum pieces or objects of more transitory interest" (p.316). His idea of 'fusion' attempted a compromise and has something of the later idea of

'cultural differences' about it. It was to bring equality to New Zealand, but "it must be clearly stated that the idea of equality is not to be considered as equality from the point of view of the dominant group. That is not equality in any sense of the word." (ibid). Dale's work then was an early attempt to remove the 'catch' from the Ideology of Equality - work that fell not altogether on stony ground, but which did not really take root until the 1970's.

Other things were afoot however which make the decade of the 30's a watershed in Maori life. The initial impetus came from the first Labour Government which came to power in 1935. Many of the processes set in motion at that time were accelerated by the social and economic impact of the 1939-45 War, at which time the rural to urban migration had its beginnings - see Butterworth (1973) for an extended discussion of this period. Significantly this is the period when the official policy of assimilation begins to change. Butterworth (1973:17, n.21) notes the first official use of the term 'integration' in 1955. However, in 1949 Peter Fraser spoke of "an independent self-reliant and satisfied Maori race working side by side with the Pakeha as the Government's aim" (ibid). The succeeding National Party Government also spoke in 1952 of "complete economic and social equality with the pakeha", while retaining valuable elements of Maori culture (ibid).

Whatever the policy, the practice was another matter. Official recommendations and measures taken during the post war years have been likened to a "lucky-dip-bin" (Walsh 1973:19) with each authority fishing out its own proposal. The need for some central direction resulted in the release of the Report on Department of Maori Affairs in

1961 (Hunn 1960). This report dominated the debate on race relations in New Zealand during the 1960's, and reinforced the official policy of 'integration' (pp 14-16), which was defined as: "To combine (not fuse) the Maori and pakeha elements to form one nation wherein Maori culture remains distinct." (ibid). The rather ambiguous nature of this definition needs to be related to the general tenor of Hunn's remarks in the report: first it seems clear that he regarded assimilation as an inevitable outcome in the long run (ibid); second, the culture that was to "remain distinct" he clearly regarded as 'relics' of a tribal culture of which "only the fittest elements (worthiest of preservation) have survived the onset of civilization" (ibid); and third, he equated the Pakeha side of integration not with Europeans but with a modern way of life (p.16). It is to this way of life that Maori are to be encouraged to conform, and if Pakehas explain this to Maoris then those who live "a backward life in primitive conditions [OR WHO] ..resent the pressure brought to bear on them to conform to what they regard as the pakeha mode of life [WILL]... fall into line more readily." (ibid). A strange kind of integration indeed, and which contradicts the definition given of that term in the Report itself.

Pressure to clarify the meaning of integration lead to a publication dealing specifically with that issue. In that publication Booth and Hunn (1962) defined integration as:

> "a dynamic process by which Maori and Pakeha are being drawn closer together, in the physical sense of the mingling of the two populations as well as in the mental and cultural senses, where differences are gradually diminishing" (p.2).

A new culture was to be made from combining and adapting two pre-existing ones, which is the fusion specifically rejected two years before in the Hunn Report itself, and is clearly assimilationist in outcome due to the unbalanced power situation that exists in New Zealand - as Dale so clearly foresaw in 1936.

With the advent of the 1970's, the whole issue shifts into another gear with a rapid increase in the input from the Maori communities themselves, both through official channels and from individual contributions. For example, Walker (1972:61) contended

> "that the paternalistic, ethnocentric, assimilative ethos of the dominant Pakeha society is more inimical to social harmony in New Zealand than the desire of the Maori to perpetuate his own cultural and social institutions."

What was needed now and for the future were creative responses from the decision makers that would

> "(a) Recognise, and respect, and foster the cultural differences of the Maori.
>
> (b) Emphasise his cultural identity.
>
> (c) Preserve continuity of that culture within the social mainstream by planning for the creation of neo-urban Maori communities, and by providing multi-cultural programmes within the education system." (ibid).

This is a clear expression of the cultural diversity model, which Walker developed further (Walker 1973, 1980) and to which a return will be made later.

The main educational input through official channels from Maori people came through the National Advisory Committee on Maori Education (NACME) Reports of 1970 and 1980. The 1970 Report made no specific comments on multiculturalism and express their objectives in very general terms - "...equipping Maori children to realize their full potential, first of all within the school system and later as effective members of the community" (p.3). The school was treated as relatively unproblematic and their recommendations were geared toward accelerating progress through the system. In the decade that elapsed before the next report emerged Maori people generally exhibited an increasing willingness to politicise and publicise their grievances and concerns, hence expectations in some quarters for a more radical reappraisal by NACME in their 1980 Report were high. Such expectations were not fulfilled however. The 1980 Report did adopt a more expansive view of education and related concerns, but nonetheless "...achieving the goal of a harmonious multicultural society in New Zealand" (p.4) seems still to be dependent upon achieving equal performance figures in national examinations for both Maori and Pakeha. Certainly the Report questions the overly monocultural view of what constitutes 'success', and they also have attempted to set their educational recommendations against a discussion of the nature of New Zealand society, which they see as a multucultural one. Their view of the meaning of multiculturalism is taken from a paper by Prof. Joan Metge which is reprinted as an appendix to the Report itself. In this paper, Metge (1979) points to three patterns of response to cultural diversity:

1. assimilation, involving negative values placed on diversity;

2. rights to cultural identity recognized, but seen as a 'problem' and tackled by selective action:

   a. minority groups are helped to measure up to majority requirements - financial assistance, special courses etc.;

   b. special programmes instituted for cultural maintainance;

   c. special training for teachers and administrators involved with ethnic minorities; and

3. the diversity model, involving unequivocal positive value on diversity and where mutual respect is a basic premise of social organisation.

Metge points out that some senior government officials and some politicians are talking at the third level (the diversity model), while implying that the bulk of the populace are still at levels 2 and 1.

There are a number of points that need to be made in relation to Metge's patterns. First, most attempts at educational amelioration have been at level 2. Second, the 1980 Report (He Huarahi) is caught between levels 2 and 3, advocating a respect for diversity on the one hand, but on the other, anxious for extra assistance to 'measure up'. Both the 1980 Report and the Metge paper have been criticised by Spoonley (1981) who states that the figures on Maori pass rates presented in the report in a favourable light, are misleading as they show only absolute increases in Maori numbers. In comparison with non-Maori pass rates the situation in 1980 is worse than it was in

1970. The annual returns of the Department of Education support Spoonley in this, however the argument is only really valid within a level 2 (Metge) context. Spoonley's criticism of Metge is that New Zealand's version of pluralism involves more than cultural relations. Insufficient attention is paid to level 1 (assimilation), which involves the racism of the dominant group, echoing Walker's point noted above.

> "Disadvantage is not a matter of cultural strangeness or ignorance that can be educated away, but an issue related to matters of class, market access and power....The paper by Metge and He Huarahi really do not even begin to address such questions but confine themselves to the relatively safe territory of cultural relations." (Spoonley 1981).

This brings us back to Bullivant's illustrations of what happens if an educational system were to push too far ahead with a programme of multiculturalism. It also highlights the importance of economic and political considerations in any discussion of policy in the multicultural area. Such considerations are not part of this paper, but see Nash (1981) and Freeman-Moir (1981) for contributions in this area.

Government policy on multiculturalism still seems somewhat ambivalent. In the 1977 New Zealand Official Yearbook, the Department of Education state (p.955):

> "We are, as a nation, committed to a policy of integration: two races, one people. It is a policy that places a great responsibility on education as a major social influence. Any restatement of educational objectives must give full weight to it."

Unfortunately in such a statement there is no explicit mention of culture, which should be kept quite separate from any consideration of race. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that 'culture' is subsumed under the 'one people' cliche, and that assimilation is still the ultimate objective.

What is the Problem?

The development and implementation of such policies as multiculturalism is seen as an appropriate response to the situation im which children from different cultural groups show systematic differences in achievement. Where this systematic difference is to the disadvantage of the minority group, concern is expressed by both minority and majority groups in terms of a lack of equality of opportunity, and new initiatives are taken in an attempt to rectify the situation. Historically the idea of equality in relation to education has undergone change. The initial reaction to minority underachievement is in terms of a theory of cultural deprivation in which the minority culture, its institutions, values and life style are blamed for the failure of their children in schools. Equality of opportunity under such a theory is seen as identity of educational outcome (school Certificate passes, University Entrance and so on) in order to gain equality of access to political and economic institutions -Metge's level 2. However there has been a shift in the meaning of equality away from being able to compete on an equal footing in the institutions of another culture, toward the idea of equality of cultural status. What White has to say of the United States of America is also true of

New Zealand and is reflected in Metge's model as a shift from levels 2 to 3:

> "Equality of cultural status has been added to the concern for political and economic equality. The shift is from outcomes and attendance per se, and from scrutiny of the socio-economic correlates of unequal achievement to consideration of cultural differences, and attention to the cultural relevance of curriculum and pedagogy." (White 1980:42).

This really gets us to the heart of the matter - the curriculum and pedagogy of the school. We can speak of the cultural relevance of the curriculum when we see it as a selection from the knowledge of a culture. Different cultures place different emphases on various sorts of knowledge and the school curriculum for any culture will reflect those aspects of knowledge regarded as most 'worthwhile' by the decision makers and political power holders within the culture. In New Zealand the group whose culture largely dominates the curriculum of the schools is the Pakeha - more specifically middle class Pakehas. In such circumstances equality of opportunity is concerned with the extent to which individuals can cope with the dominant culture. It would be going too far to say that such an outcome is the result of a conspiracy by the holders of power - nevertheless the outcome is hardly in doubt, even to the extent that many of the cultural minorities themselves come to see the knowledge of the dominant group as the only legitimate and proper knowledge. To quote a former New Zealand Director-General of Education:

> "A quarter of a century ago I sat in a Maori village in a remote corner of New Zealand, trying to persuade the chiefs

> and elders to accept for their district a secondary school providing the technical courses the area so clearly needed rather than the classical course on which they had set their hearts. What they were being offered was, in fact, an expensive type of school for a rural area, but their ideal of an educated man was based on the Oxbridge graduates who had come to New Zealand as missionaries a century before, and neither John Dewey nor an economist with his promise of productivity would have shaken them. I retired, defeated, when an old chief, having shrewdly elicited that I had myself taken Latin, clinched the argument with, "And look where you got to!" The proper reply still eludes me." (Beeby 1966: 30-31).

In schools then, middle class Pakeha children are at an advantage since the values of the school are continuous with those they find at home. The curriculum embodies the same kind of knowledge that is considered 'worthy' by their families. In the term used by Bourdieu (1974), such children have acquired from their families the appropriate 'cultural capital' with which to cope with the institutions of society. The schools reinforce the 'capital' and help such children to realize it in terms of occupational status, social status, access to higher levels of the system and so on. But those who do not acquire such cultural capital from their families are left with the school as their only link into the dominant culture. It follows then that anyone from a group other than that whose culture is embodied in the school is disadvantaged. In consequence, for many Maori children there is a discontinuity between home and school, between the academic knowledge of the school and the common-sense, everyday knowledge of the home community. It is this cultural barrier which Bourdieu sees as the fundamental cause of the perpetuation of social divisions. Education for Bourdieu is not an equalizer because its curriculum, methods and ethic are derived not from the general culture of a society, but from the culture of the dominant group in that society. Hence anyone who

succeeds in the school becomes acculturated into the dominant group. Education thus facilitates the transfer of individuals across social and cultural boundaries, but through its actions reinforces the existance of those boundaries between groups.

It would seem that while we have a curriculum organized around the knowledge code of one of the groups constituting a plural society, we will always have educational inequalities attributable to social and ethnic origin, since only the children of the dominant group will have acquired the cultural capital with which to exploit the possibilities inherent in the schools. 'Equality of opportunity' then becomes nothing more than a slogan - a part of the rhetorical ritual of race relations in New Zealand. If we break down the concept further and look at, first, 'equality of access', we mean access to the culture, values and knowledge code of the dominant group; second, 'equality of outcomes' also enmeshes us in the knowledge code of the dominant group, whose criteria have become established as the only legitimate criteria. Such criteria control the educational (and social) outcomes, and it is this control which Bourdieu sees as perpetuating and reinforcing the inequalities in society.

We need to have some concern at this point over the conclusions we draw from the argument so far. A good case can be made which describes the school environment as essentially middle class and Pakeha - including such features as values, mores, attitudes - all the features of what is commonly called the 'hidden curriculum'. However to conclude that all aspects of the curriculum itself are middle class and Pakeha is much more problematic. There is a sense in which the curriculum reflects

knowledge vital to the maintainance of any modern, technologically based society whatever its political or economic philosophy. The fact that the middle class and Pakeha cope with the curriculum more successfully than do working class or Maori children tells us at least as much (if not more) about the middle class, and Pakehas, as it does about the curriculum.

However, there is more than just curriculum content involved in moves toward bi- or multi-culturalism. Considerations of the hidden curriculum aside, Bernstein (1977) argues that there are two other aspects of schooling which reflect the knowledge code of a culture. These are:

i. the way that the knowledge is transmitted (pedagogy); and

ii. the way that the system tests the success of the transmission (evaluation).

Hence there are three message systems which not only reflect the knowledge code of a culture, but play a vital part in transmitting the knowledge code to the next generation - curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation. In the New Zealand context, this raises a number of important issues.

1. What do we know of Polynesian knowledge codes?

2. In what ways do they differ from the code which forms the basis of our present curriculum?

3. What would be the educational implications of such differences, if indeed any were found?

4. Can a school system be called multicultural if it only makes available alternative 'contents'? What about pedagogy and evaluation? In fact, if Maori language is only legitimate if it can be taught and evaluated in the same way as French or German for example, then does this not represent a sharp increase in the pressure toward Europeanization which it is argued here and elsewhere (Harker 1980) has continued unabated since the 19th century?

Knowledge codes and the way that they are structured can be seen as the link between the curriculum and an underlying political dimension of great significance in any discussion of multicultural education. To deepen the analysis of the political nature of the curriculum, an understanding of Bernstein's concept of 'classification' is necessary, which refers to the kinds of relationships that exist between the contents of a curriculum. Where classification is strong, then the various subjects are well insulated from each other, with clear boundaries. Where classification is weak then the insulation is broken down and the boundaries are blurred. Two basic types of knowledge code derive from this: a code (and its deriveable curriculum) typified by strong classification, Bernstein calls a <u>collection</u> code. Under such a system the more bits you collect (the more subjects you pass) the more educated you are. European knowledge codes are of this type. A knowledge code (and its derived curriculum) typified by weak

classification Bernstein calls and integrated code, where subjects are subordinate to some relational idea which is the main focus of the educational enterprise.

The above analysis is crucial to any consideration of the politics of school curricula as each of the codes has quite different implications for the power/authority structure of the educational process. Under a European type collection code, Bernstein argues, a number of consequences are entailed:

1. knowledge is seen as private property with its own power structure and market situation;

2. subject loyalty is developed in students;

3. students learn to work within a received frame (discipline);

4. the evaluation system places emphasis on attaining states of knowledge rather than ways of knowing;

5. the pedagogical relationship tends to be heirarchical and ritualized;

6. the pupil is seen as ignorant with little status and few rights; and

7. educational knowledge (high status) is kept separate from

everyday commonsense knowledge (low status) - except for the less able children whom the system has given up educating.

The point here is that these consequences may not be characteristic of the cultural backgrounds of many pupils in our school system, reflecting as they do the value system of the majority culture. I do not wish to imply that Polynesian knowledge codes are of the integrated type as they exhibit many of the collection code characteristics. However the classification boundaries may be in quite different places, and perhaps less detailed in the minuteness with which they divide knowledge up. It is therefore just as important to understand differences between different types of collection code and their educational consequences as to be aware of the differences between collection and integrated codes. If our system is to be multicultural or even bicultural in any real sense, then we should be engaging in a fundamental re-appraisal of the structural features of our schools. But we must also go beyond the schools in any reappraisal because as pointed out above, you cannot have a multicultural educational system in a society which rejects socially, politically and economically the reality of even biculturalism in its public institutions.

What would a multicultural school be like?

In a society which gave equal status and prestige to different value systems and life styles, and in which alternative institutional structures were available, the school system would not only have various knowledge codes in operation and the different curricula that

these may imply, but also a variety of pedagogical systems and alternative modes of evaluation. It goes without saying that such a system would be bi- or multi-lingual. Unfortunately however in the New Zealand context, Pakeha know virtually nothing of the Maori knowledge code, nor what kind of knowledge Maori regard as most worthwhile. Too often where aspects of Maoritanga have been added to the curriculum, they have been divorced from their cultural context and incorporated in terms of the pedagogy and evaluation systems of Pakeha culture. Further, such a proposal is quite outside the realms of being a purely educational decision as it has implications for the whole social fabric, presenting not only a challenge to prevailing educational practices, but to the very way we organize our society. However, if we desire to move beyond the rhetoric of multiculturalism into the reality, then these are issues which have to be addressed.

What are the dilemmas?

The fundamental dilemma is the tension that exists between the desire for economic and political equality, and the desire for the preservation and maintainance of ethnic cultures. Modernization, industrialization and the capitalist mode of economic and political organization bring with them an immense cargo of values and attitudes which have an enormous impact on the lives of the people they touch. No culture can hope to survive unscathed from a transition into such a life style. Walker's contention (op. cit) that Maoris "...have learned the necessary survival skills for life in the urban- industrial complex [WHILE PURSUING] leisure activities related to the spiritual,

philosophic and cultural value system of their forebears" is a reworking of Sir Apirana Ngata's exhortation for the Maori to turn his hand to the tools of the Pakeha for his material wellbeing, but to hold fast to his Maoritanga for his spiritual wellbeing. However it is worded, it is an extraordinarily difficult feat to perform due to the 'super-cargo' the 'tools of the Pakeha' carry along with them - urbanization, the organization of work, technology, mechanization and so on - which have been immensely destructive of the life style from which Maori culture draws its strength.

What I am suggesting is that if things go on as in the past, then within a few generations a distinctively different Maori life style will no longer be discernable. The schools by themselves could not prevent such an occurrence. If Maori are to share the economic, political and legal institutions with Pakeha and at the same time retain a viable identity as Maori, then it is absolutely vital that the economic, political and legal institutions move more rapidly in the same direction that Walker suggests the education system is moving. That is, to modify themselves "..so that they more adequately reflect the bicultural mix of the nation" (Walker 1980:239). To return to the model presented at the beginning of this paper, what Walker is advocating is biculturalism at the individual level for both Maori and Pakeha, which falls somewhere on the double headed arrow between what I have called INTEGRATION and FUSION. For Maori culture to survive, the alternative is separatism, a withdrawal from the institutions shared with Pakeha and a re-establishment of Maori alternatives. In an unbalanced power situation however as exists in New Zealand, it could turn quite rapidly into South African type apartheid.

In conclusion let me remind you of a point raised by Thompson (1963:53-56) who suggests that we can quickly become bogged down if we confine ourselves too exclusively to debating policy alternatives. He makes a plea for choice and fluidity, with Maori free to choose according to their own needs and wishes rather than according to some policy label or other. I do not think he has quite escaped the trap he lays for others but at least he presents a policy alternative well worth including in any debate.

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